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No. 4, 1965

- Communist China -

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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 4, 1965. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. A translation of the article on pages 18-35, entitled "Criticism of the 1 March Meeting in Moscow Called by Soviet Leaders" and originally published in the Japanese-language newspaper, Akahata (Red Flag), was published in JPRS 29270 (7 May 1965).

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## THE GREAT VICTORY OF LENINISM

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, pages 4-9.]

April 22 this year was the 95th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin.

Lenin once remarked at a ceremony in commemoration of a revolutionary that in honoring the memory of past revolutionaries, Marxists explain the tasks that lie ahead, unlike those with ulterior motives who use flowery words and vulgar eulogies to tell lies and deceive the people. In honoring the memory of Lenin today, our principal task is firmly to defend the revolutionary theses of Leninism, to oppose the distortion of Leninism by the modern revisionists, and to link the struggle against modern revisionism closely with the struggle against imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

In commemorating the 90th anniversary in 1960 of Lenin's birth, we raised aloft the banner of Leninism, directed our attention to the ideological chaos created by the modern revisionists in the international communist movement, and published three articles, one of which was entitled "Long Live Leninism." In these articles we laid stress on elucidating the problems of imperialism, war and peace, the national liberation movement, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, all in the light of the fundamental theses of Leninism and the actual situation in the modern world, and we proved the argument that Leninism, far from becoming "outmoded" as the modern revisionists ridiculously claimed, has shown ever more clearly its enormous vitality. Although at that time we did not yet openly criticize Khrushchev and the leadership of the CPSU, the views expressed in the three articles were the diametric opposite of the pack of nonsense dispensed by the Khrushchev revisionists.

Our three articles roused the livid hatred of the Khrushchev revisionists and scared the living daylights out of them. They launched unbridled attacks on our point of view in many articles and speeches and with every manner of sordid and shameless trick. The consequence was a still clearer exposure of the true face of the Khrushchev revisionists. Along with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in other countries, we naturally had to carry further the resolute struggle against these renegades from Marxism-Leninism, against this adverse current in the international communist movement.

Khrushchev fell.

The new leadership of the CPSU declared again and again that they would faithfully continue to carry out Khrushchev's fully developed revisionist line, would carry out Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. They have continued to stand on the side opposed to all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and to this day have not stopped using every means at hand to slander and attack the fundamental Leninist theses expounded in the three articles which included "Long Live Leninism."

It is five years since the articles were published. What have these five years proved? Time has rendered an absolutely must verdict. These five years have precisely proved that our views were completely correct.

It would take much space to deal with all the problems expounded in the three articles; we shall therefore take up but a few of the questions.

First, the problem of the nature of imperialism.

In the name of "creative development," the Khrushchev revisionists completely distorted Lenin's theory of imperialism. They maintained that the nature of imperialism had changed and denied that imperialism was the source of war in modern times. They spread the notion that the ruling clique of U.S. imperialism and its chieftains "do not hope for war" and "worry about ensuring peace just as we do." They gave great publicity to the point that "already in our time, the practical possibility is being created of banishing war from the life of society finally and forever" and predicted that 1960 would be the year in which the world would become "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars."

Directly contrary to the Khrushchev revisionists, we pointed out in Long Live Leninism that "the nature of imperialism cannot change" and that "so long as capitalist imperialism exists in the world, the sources and possibility of war will remain." We also declared that U.S. imperialism was the main force of aggression and war in the present era, the most ferocious enemy of the people all over the world.

The past five years have proved that the statements of the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchev to the effect that the nature of imperialism could change and had changed had the sole purpose of serving U.S. imperialism and sapping the will of the revolutionary forces.

Though they incur resolute opposition from the people and suffer defeat everywhere in the world, U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are not changed in the slightest, but are being intensively enforced. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is in every day intensifying its suppression of the national liberation movements and massacring great numbers of people. In South Vietnam in particular, U.S. imperialism has launched utterly inhuman "special warfare," shipped in its own troops and those of its lackeys, used all kinds of new weapons and wildly spread the flames of war to North Vietnam.

"Contrary to the illusions of the modern revisionists, with the intensified carrying out of its war policy, U.S. imperialism has not carried out general and complete disarmament but has intensified general and complete arms expansion." U.S. military expenditure has reached the highest peace-time peak and greatly exceeds the level reached in the Korean war. Although the modern revisionists have tried almost to the point of nausea to present them in an attractive light, the representatives of U.S. imperialism -- whether Eisenhower, Kennedy or Johnson -- have themselves repeatedly proclaimed that the U.S. "has the courage to risk war" and that the U.S. is ready to fight any war whether total or limited, nuclear or conventional, a big war or a small war.

Can these facts be taken to show that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed even an iota? Can it be said that the chieftains of imperialism "worry about ensuring peace" and "do not wish war?" Can it be said we are entering that ideal world, "a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars?"

Now, under the pressure of circumstances and in order to continue the deception, Khrushchev's successors, the new leadership of the CPSU, have to put on a show and hypocritically shout a few anti-imperialism slogans. But they continue to play the old Khrushchev tunes and to lavish praise on U.S. imperialism, with many sweet tributes to Johnson, using such words about him as "sensible," "reasonable," "restrained" and "sober." They also vigorously continue to spread the idea that the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism can set "examples for each other" on the question of reducing military expenditures.

Worthy of special attention is the fact that now, even when the U.S. gangsters have thrown off all masks on the Vietnam question and the nature of imperialism stands fully exposed, the modern revisionists are doing all they can to cover up for the U.S. The slight difference between them and Khrushchev is that Khrushchev was much too stupid and they are a bit more subtle. Khrushchev openly talked nonsense to the effect that the Bac Bo Gulf incident was not aggression by U.S.

imperialism but had been provoked by China and Vietnam. These words of the accomplice was so similar to those of the master that they were of no value and nobody would believe them.

The present leadership of the CPSU have apparently learned the lesson and now use other words. They circulate rumors and slanders everywhere to the effect that U.S. aggression is encouraged against Vietnam because the Chinese Communist Party is undermining the unity of the socialist camp and Sino-Soviet unity. In the first place, such assertions stand the facts upside-down. It is indisputable the Khrushchev revisionists who undermine the unity of the socialist camp and Sino-Soviet unity. Again, it is indisputable the Khrushchev revisionists who encourage U.S. imperialist aggression. In substance such assertions are still attempts to absolve the U.S. gangsters and make it appear that the U.S. aggression against Vietnam arises not from the nature of imperialism but from some other cause. The people who spread such allegations are still apologists for U.S. imperialism. They are the ones who are really encouraging U.S. aggression.

Second, on the question of so-called "peaceful coexistence."

In the name of "creative development," the Khrushchev revisionists have completely revised Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. They maintain that peaceful coexistence means reaching "mutual understanding" with imperialism, "adapting to one another," "compromising with one another" and "accommodating one another." They say that peaceful coexistence is "the categorical imperative of modern times" and "the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society." They particularly yearn for agreements between the heads-of-state of the Soviet Union and the U.S. -- "on which mankind's destinies depend," meaning Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world. They not only take this kind of "peaceful coexistence" as the general line of their foreign policy, but demand that all communists in the world should "make the struggle for peaceful coexistence the general principle of their policy."

Contrary to the Khrushchev revisionists, we pointed out in the Long Live Leninism articles that the obstacles to the realization of peaceful coexistence lie on the imperialist side. The socialist countries are able to coexist peacefully with the imperialist countries at particular times through struggle, and through struggle alone, and, what is more, sharp and complex struggles continue under conditions of peaceful coexistence. We pointed out emphatically, that "peaceful coexistence refers to relations between nations; revolution means the overthrow of the oppressors as a class by the oppressed people within each country, while in the case of the colonial and semi-colonial countries it is first and foremost a question of overthrowing alien oppressors, namely the imperialists" and that these two things must absolutely not be taken as one and the same.



The past five years have proved that the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchev have made Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence a fig-leaf to cover up their capitulation to U.S. imperialism and the peaceful evolution to capitalism which they are practicing in their own countries.

It is precisely the modern revisionists' friend, U.S. imperialism, with whom they are determined to establish "all-round cooperation," that constantly and in every way opposes and undermines the socialist countries, carries out subversion and military provocations, and threatens war and even launches aggressive war. It is precisely U.S. imperialism, too, that encroaches upon the territory and sovereignty of other countries all over the world, interferes in their internal affairs, damages their interests and suppresses the people's revolution. The present criminal activities of U.S. imperialism in extending the war of aggression in Vietnam and the whole of Indo-China are an important part of its counter-revolutionary "global strategy."

In these circumstances, should the people of these countries resolutely struggle against U.S. imperialism or should they "adapt to it" in accordance with the Khrushchev-revisionists' "categorical imperative" and "compromise" with it? Should they oppose counter-revolutionary armed aggression with revolutionary armed struggle or should they embark on "the best and sole acceptable way" of "peaceful coexistence" and leave themselves at the mercy of the imperialists? Against the will of the Khrushchev revisionists, the people of these countries have given a clear-cut answer by their actions in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. From their very own experience they have drawn the conclusions that there can be absolutely no peaceful coexistence between the revolutionary people and U.S. imperialism.

The new leadership of the CPSU still clings to Khrushchev's so-called "peaceful coexistence" and continue to regard it as "the general line of foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government." They have assiduously spread the idea that "sufficiently broad areas for cooperation exist" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. and have engaged in secret diplomacy with U.S. imperialism in a big way. Although they have uttered a few high-sounding words on the Vietnam question and made some gestures of support, all of this is done only after the sympathetic understanding of the bandit chiefs of U.S. imperialism has been sought, and is kept within the bounds of not impairing their line of Soviet-U.S. cooperation. The be all and end all of this is that they want to join hands with the U.S. to work up the fraud of "peace talks." They are doing all they can in the futile attempt to direct the Vietnamese people's patriotic, just struggle against U.S. aggression to the orbit of "solving problems" through Soviet-U.S. talks in order to attain their criminal objective of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world. Like Khrushchev, the new leadership of the CPSU in the name of "peaceful coexistence" is plainly substituting class collaboration

for class struggle in the international sphere. This "peaceful coexistence" of theirs can only be capitulationist coexistence.

Third, on the question of the national liberation movement.

In the name of "creative development," the Khrushchev revisionists have completely departed from Lenin's theories on the national liberation struggle. They hold that "colonialism has been uprooted," the national liberation struggle has entered its "final phase," and the oppressed nations "can be liberated from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism by peaceful means of struggle," so that "the funeral of the colonial system will be a quiet one." They negate the Marxist-Leninist view that in all countries the liberation of the people must be undertaken by the people themselves and espouse with special vigor the notion of United Nations' "obligations" to national liberation; they say: "Who, if not the United Nations organization, should champion the abolition of the colonial system of government?" They firmly believe that the colonialist policies of U.S. imperialism have changed and that "the more prudent of the colonialists are getting out, so to say, five minutes before they are given 'a kick in the pants;'" therefore they urgently hope to "agree on measures for the abolition of the colonial system of government" with the imperialists.

In direct contradiction to the Khrushchev revisionists, we pointed out in the articles in Long Live Leninism that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialists is one of the fundamental contradictions in the world today and that U.S. imperialism is the main bastion of modern colonialism and the most vicious and cunning enemy of the rising national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America today. Undoubtedly, imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder of necessity arouse resistance on the part of the oppressed nations, and the storm of the national liberation movement is sweeping across Asia, Africa and Latin America on a mounting scale. We also pointed out that the oppressed nations must not expect their liberation as a result of "benevolence" by the old or new colonialists nor "bestowal" by the United Nations which is manipulated by U.S. imperialism, but that they must rely on themselves to wage resolute revolutionary struggle. We said, "without revolutionary violence it would be impossible to wipe out counter-revolutionary violence."

The past five years have proved that the modern revisionists headed by Khrushchev have degenerated into apologists for new colonialism and, working hand in glove with the imperialists, they attempt to strangle the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

The self-appointed gendarme of the world, U.S. imperialism, has not only sent its own troops to massacre the people of oppressed nations but has also acted through the agency of the United Nations in one place to send in troops to suppress the people and in another to proffer so-called development plans, all in the vain attempt to stamp out the

anti-colonialist, revolutionary movements. In Vietnam in particular, it has openly undermined the Geneva Agreement, obstructed the peaceful reunification of the Vietnamese people, wantonly trampled on their independence and sovereignty and arrogantly demanded that the 30 million people of Vietnam unconditionally surrender before its butcher's knife. This has even more thoroughly exposed the bestial features of the U.S. aggressors.

In the face of these facts, how can anyone believe that "colonialism has been uprooted?" If the task of national liberation has entered "the final phase," how can anyone explain the present tempestuous growth of the national liberation movement? If the services which the United Nations are rendering U.S. imperialism in every way are "contributions" to the "abolition of colonialism," are the struggles waged by the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) and Indonesia against colonialism, neo-colonialism and the United Nations to be viewed as obstacles to the "abolition of colonialism?" U.S. imperialism has been given quite a number of "kicks in the pants" in South Vietnam. Why, then, instead of getting out "five minutes before," is it continuing to dispatch officers and men there and arrogantly hanging on and refusing to get out? In these conditions, how can the South Vietnamese people achieve their liberation "by peaceful means of struggle" and "quietly" bury colonialism?"

The new leadership of the CPSU have never given serious answers to these questions, though time and again they have voiced "support for the national liberation movement." Why is this? The clearest answer is provided by their deeds. Before the fall of Khrushchev, they supported the suppression of the national liberation movement in the Congo (Leopoldville) by the U.S. imperialists under the cloak of the United Nations: This resulted in the murder of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba. Now Khrushchev's successors have willingly agreed to share the expenses of the U.S. armed intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville) undertaken in the name of the United Nations, and in the U.N. Security Council they are supporting the U.S. hoax of "a national reconciliation" in the Congo (Leopoldville) which is an attempt to strangle the revolutionary forces of the Congolese people. Particularly grave is their active support for the setting up of a permanent armed force of the United Nations. This means becoming a partner in organizing an international gendarmerie in the service of U.S. imperialism for the suppression of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. This is all they have actually done in their so-called "support for the national liberation movement." One could well ask the new leadership of the CPSU: Are you making these efforts in order to "support the national liberation movement" or in order the better to "agree on measures" with U.S. imperialism to oppose, disrupt and suppress the national liberation movement? It is absolutely clear that their so-called "support for the national liberation movement" is false while their collusion with U.S. imperialism to strangle the national liberation movement is genuine.

Thus, the facts of the past five years have mercilessly shattered the absurd arguments of the modern revisionists.

After the fall of Khrushchev, which was a public proclamation of the bankruptcy of modern revisionism, we had hoped that the new leadership of the CPSU would honestly and openly admit their mistakes and renounce the revisionist line and policies pursued when Khrushchev was in power, and we advised them to do so. However, contrary to the aspirations of the Soviet people and the revolutionary peoples of the world, the new leadership of the CPSU have taken over Khrushchev revisionism as a priceless heritage and have continued to brandish it. During the celebrations this year of the 95th anniversary of Lenin's birth, they still had the effrontery to brag that "the general line drafted in the 20th and 22nd congresses of our Party and embodied in the program of the CPSU" was a "vivid indication" of a "creative approach" to theory. It was precisely in the name of a so-called "creative approach" to Leninism that Khrushchev actually renounced every fundamental thesis of Leninism, became the greatest revisionist in all history and finally ended up in total bankruptcy. Can his successors come to any better end?

Leninism is the invincible weapon of the proletariat and the other working people of the whole world.

Its radiance can in no wise be dimmed however much the enemy attacks it from without or "revises" it from within. On the contrary, it is through repeated struggle against all enemies within and without that the forces of Leninism continuously grow and become stronger. As a result of the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism in the past five years, Leninism has spread more widely through the world than ever before, the awakening of the peoples of the world has gone forward on a tremendous scale and the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists have rapidly grown. At the same time, the Marxist-Leninists have enriched Leninism in all respects as, in the fight against modern revisionism, they have unceasingly studied and summed up the new experience and new problems of the present-day revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. The past five years have seen the complete bankruptcy of modern revisionism and new, great victories for Leninism. Unfolding before us today is the excellent situation of a vigorous development of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the peoples all over the world. We must continue to hold aloft the banner of Leninism, carry the fight against modern revisionism to completion, and advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to new and still greater victories.

Long live Leninism!

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## DRIVE US AGGRESSORS OUT OF VIETNAM

Following is a translation of an article by the Hung-ch'i  
Commentator in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i  
(Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, pages 10-13.

The Vietnamese people's patriotic and just struggle against the U.S. aggressors has now become the focus of the great struggle between the people of the world and U.S. imperialism and its followers.

U.S. imperialism's aggression against Vietnam is an important move in its counter-revolutionary global strategy. U.S. imperialism carries out "special war" in South Vietnam. Its purpose is not only to enslave the people there, but also to gain experiences for stepping up its suppression of the national liberation movements and people's revolutionary movements in other parts of the world. U.S. imperialism ruthlessly expands the war and aggresses against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This is a challenge not only to all the Vietnamese people, but also to the whole socialist camp, to all peace-loving countries and people, and to world peace.

The Vietnamese people's heroic resistance to U.S. aggression is an important component of the common struggle of the world's people against their most ferocious enemy, U.S. imperialism. Standing firmly in the forefront of the anti-U.S. struggle, they have dealt telling blows at the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and war, weakened them and tied them down. They are defending the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp, supporting the peoples' revolutionary struggles and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world. They are great patriots and great champions of proletarian internationalism.

The situation today is excellent for the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

In the course of their arduous battles during the past four years and more, the people of South Vietnam, rallying closely around the banner

of the national front for liberation, have put out of action more than 300 thousand enemy troops including over 4 thousand U.S. aggressors, and liberated four-fifths of the land in South Vietnam with a population of 10 million.

U.S. imperialism has suffered one defeat after another, each heavier than the preceding one. The three crops it relies on in its "special war" in South Vietnam -- "strategic hamlets," mercenary troops and cities -- are collapsing. The war in South Vietnam has entered a new phase in which the tempo of the U.S. aggressors' approach to complete defeat is being accelerated.

The people of North Vietnam, while giving all-out support to the liberation struggle of their compatriots in the South, have heroically repulsed the U.S. imperialists' air raids and won brilliant successes, downing some 300 U.S. aircraft.

The 30 million Vietnamese people, burning with the revolutionary determination to fight and to win, have severely punished the U.S. aggressors and inflicted upon them their most tragic defeat since their war of aggression against Korea. Just as Chairman Ho Chi Minh has said, "Even if the U.S. sends several hundred thousand more American troops and tries further to raise troops from some subservient countries and plunge them into this criminal war, the army and people of our country are resolved to defeat them."

People are invincible and people's war will surely emerge victorious, the Vietnamese people's war to defend their fatherland and oppose U.S. imperialist aggression is a great people's war. At present, every nook and corner in South Vietnam is a front on which blows are dealt at the U.S. aggressor, and North Vietnam has become a shooting ground for destroying U.S. airborne gangsters. The U.S. aggressors, bringing all kinds of lethal weapons with them and dragging their puppets and vassals in their wake, have been submerged in the ocean of the Vietnamese people's struggle and are about to be drowned.

Marxist-Leninists firmly believe that, in the final analysis, the outcome of war is decided by men, not by weapons, by the nature of the war and the support of the people, not by helicopters or bombs. Vietnam's Jen-min Pao has put it well: Whatever weapons U.S. imperialism may use, and no matter with what weapons the Vietnamese people may be equipped, the most important factor for guaranteeing their final and thorough defeat of U.S. imperialism will still be the heroic struggle of all the people of Vietnam, who have the people's armed troops as their core. In fact, the Vietnamese people's patriotic armed struggle against U.S. aggression has created very rich experience and demonstrated the unmatched power of the people. This is a truly invaluable treasure which cannot be matched by the U.S. aggressors with all their weapons.

The modern revisionists do not and are not willing to understand the laws governing people's wars. They worship the armed might of U.S. imperialism and have no faith in the strength of the Vietnamese people. Scared out of their wits by U.S. war blackmail, they are even afraid that the Vietnamese people's spectacular victories have dashed to the ground their theory that weapons decide everything and their magic weapon of the general line of "peaceful coexistence."

The defeat of the U.S. gangsters is a foregone conclusion and the victory of the Vietnamese people is in sight. What is the way out for U.S. imperialism in this situation?

To get out of Vietnam? This is not in keeping with the gangster nature of U.S. imperialism. Johnson said that the U.S. could not "lose" Vietnam "because there are about 100 other small underdeveloped nations," and if Vietnam was "lost," "it would be one down and 99 to go." These remarks not only expose the gangster nature of U.S. imperialism in regarding other countries of the world as its own possessions but also reveal its panic in face of the anti-U.S. storm of the people the world over.

To expand the war still further? There are insurmountable fatal weaknesses. Politically, U.S. imperialism has met with the strong opposition of the people of the whole world including the American people and has failed to get the support of some of its allies because it is engaged in an unjust, reactionary and aggressive war and is extremely unpopular. Militarily, it has been driven into an utterly passive position because its troop strength is inadequate, its battle line too long, the rear too far away, the morale of its troops low and the terrain unfavorable to it. If U.S. imperialism recklessly extends the war, it can only expose still more of its own weaknesses, deepen its political and economic crisis and accelerate its own doom.

It is precisely to extricate itself from its dilemma and avert its complete doom that U.S. imperialism has stopped at nothing in carrying out its counter-revolutionary dual tactics: It conducts blackmail of an extended war to promote its plot of "peace talks" and, with this as the smokescreen, it tries to cover up its crime of escalating the war. Recently Johnson put forward his swindle of the so-called "unconditional discussions" for a "peaceful settlement." This is a vain attempt on his part to coerce and inveigle the Vietnamese people who are marching towards final victory into giving up their anti-U.S. struggle so that U.S. imperialism can gain by "peaceful" means what it failed to gain on the battlefield.

The long-tested Vietnamese people have thoroughly exploded this swindle of Johnson's. To the war blackmail of U.S. imperialism, they reply with the concrete action of stepping up fighting. To its intrigue of "peaceful discussions," they reply with a firm and unchanging stand

principles. United as one, they have solemnly declared that they will fight to the end as long as the U.S. aggressors remain there.

Therefore, before the people of the world are two diametrically opposed lines for a solution to the Vietnam issue.

One is the line advanced by U.S. imperialism. That is: the Vietnamese people should lay down their arms so that the U.S. aggressors may occupy South Vietnam and massacre the people there, and bomb North Vietnam and commit aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This is the line of encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam, stepping up aggression, extending the war and endangering peace in Asia and the world.

The other line is that advanced by the Vietnamese people. That is: to persevere in the patriotic and just struggle against U.S. imperialism, defeat U.S. imperialism's armed aggression by carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle resolutely, realize the four-point just proposal of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the settlement of the Vietnam question, and force the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam. This is the line of defending the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam, smashing U.S. imperialism's plan of aggression and war and preserving peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnam question is the focus of the present international class struggle and is a touchstone of the attitudes of all political forces in the world. In face of the two diametrically opposed lines mentioned above, all countries, political parties and groups will inevitably have to clarify their attitude in concrete action.

A just cause wins support, while an unjust cause gets none. The people of all countries in the socialist camp, the revolutionary people of the world, all countries and people genuinely cherishing peace and justice and the masses of all countries comprising more than 90 percent of the world's population support the must stand of the Vietnamese people, oppose U.S. imperialism's aggressive war, blackmail and deceit. They all stand on the side of the fighting Vietnamese people. Only a handful of people support the U.S. imperialist line of aggression and war. U.S. imperialism's partners and its running dog, the Tito group, beating the drums for U.S. imperialism, are trying their utmost to aid and abet the U.S. war blackmail and to peddle the U.S. hoax of "peace talks."

Carrying the flag of "support for the Vietnamese people," the modern revisionists have wormed their way into the ranks of the people of the world who are supporting the Vietnamese people. They still cling to the general line of world domination by the two so-called super powers, flirt and exchange information with U.S. imperialism. They themselves do not oppose U.S. imperialism but try in every way possible to prevent others from opposing U.S. imperialism and echo its "peace



talks" swindles. They pretend to support the Vietnamese people but are afraid of offending the U.S. overlord. Their deeds do not tally with their words. Posing as benefactors, they utter a lot of ballyhoo about "helping the Vietnamese people." They have given some aid but it is merely for the purpose of making capital out of it in order to bargain with the U.S., undermine the anti-U.S. revolutionary struggle of the people of Vietnam and the whole world and to serve U.S. imperialism. In a word the modern revisionists are feigning support but, in reality, betraying the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression. In fact they are encouraging U.S. imperialism to push ahead with its policies of aggression and war.

But the time when an oppressed nation might be butchered and betrayed at will has gone and will never return. The fate of Vietnam can be controlled only by the people of Vietnam who have been tempered and steeled in the intense fire of anti-imperialist struggle, and not by anybody else.

The 650 million Chinese people are well aware that the heroic struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people is a powerful support for the socialist cause of their country. They have always faithfully fulfilled their proletarian internationalist duty and firmly and unreservedly supported the fraternal Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression. Together with the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people resolutely oppose the "peace talks" fraud of U.S. imperialism and any plot designed to collaborate with U.S. imperialism and betray the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people never indulge in empty talk. They have always unhesitatingly contributed everything in their power to meet the needs of the Vietnamese people and they are resolved to do so in the future.

We believe that in face of the despicable actions of various reactionary forces overtly or covertly trying to sabotage the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression, the revolutionary people of the world will surely become more indignant, unite more closely and take more resolute action to deal blows at U.S. imperialism on all fronts and lay bare the ugly features of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. With the development of the situation, people who are interested in world peace but not yet acquainted with the truth about the situation will gradually see U.S. imperialism and its accomplices in their true colors and finally spurn all their schemes, and stand on the side of those who support the Vietnamese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression.

A mass movement of unprecedented power forcing U.S. imperialism to get out of Vietnam is sprouting vigorously in the whole world. Let Johnson shout: "The force of no man can compel us to leave Vietnam." The day is drawing ever nearer when the U.S. gangsters will be driven out of Vietnamese territory.

Under the wise leadership of the Vietnamese Labor Party and Chairman Ho Chi Minh, and with energetic support from the people all over the world, the heroic Vietnamese people will surely win the final victory in their great, patriotic anti-U.S. struggle.

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PUBLISHER'S EXPLANATION OF VOLUME 5 OF  
"KHRUSHCHEV'S STATEMENT"

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, pages 14-17.]

Beginning with Volume 5, the collection of "Khrushchev's Statements" will carry public statements made by Khrushchev from 1956 onward.

In Volume 5, the general report made by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956 merits particular attention. It is a typical product of modern revisionism and is greatly treasured by all Khrushchev revisionists. It is indispensable reading for those who wish to understand and study the history of the development of Khrushchev revisionism.

What did the 20th Congress of the CPSU, held under Khrushchev's auspices, do? What sort of a congress was it? History has given an adequate answer.

The congress made a ferocious attack on the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin; essentially it vilified the party of the proletariat and its leader, vilified the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, attacked Marxism-Leninism, and attacked the Soviet Union, communism, and the people.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful transition to socialism "by parliamentary means;" essentially it negated the road of the October revolution, opposed proletarian revolution and national democratic revolution and opposed every kind of revolutionary armed struggle.

The congress postulated so-called peaceful coexistence as the "general line" of the foreign policy of socialist countries; essentially it advocated class collaboration on an international scale, capitulationism and the betrayal of proletarian internationalism; they themselves did

not want revolution and forbade it for others; they themselves did not support revolution and forbade others to support it.

The congress postulated so-called friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States, and it prettified U.S. imperialism and its chieftain; essentially it propagated the notion that the nature of U.S. imperialism had changed and that two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, should dictate to the whole world.

The congress postulated "combating the personality cult;" essentially that was intended as an attack on the Marxist-Leninists of all countries, so that buffoons of the Khrushchev variety "who speak at random and talk sheer nonsense" could become the "new leaders," and as a catchword for purposes of subverting and controlling fraternal parties and fraternal countries and thus paving the way for the introduction of Khrushchev revisionism.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU was the most significant sign of the emergence of Khrushchev revisionism. It was at that congress that Khrushchev first put forward the Khrushchev revisionist line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism. In the article "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves" we point out that "the 20th Congress of the CPSU was the first step along the road of revisionism taken by the leadership of the CPSU. From the 20th Congress to the present, the revisionist line of the leadership of the CPSU has gone through the process of emergence, formation, growth, and systematization. And by a gradual process, too, people have come to understand more and more deeply the revisionist line of the CPSU leadership."

The 20th Congress of the CPSU is the root from which stems all the evil done by the Khrushchev revisionists. Out of that congress came such things as the 22d Congress of the CPSU, the program of the CPSU, the "three peacefuls" and "two entires" (peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition; and the state of the entire people and the party of the entire people), and the "four alignments with and four against" (alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States against China and other revolutionary countries, alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the national liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism).

The 20th Congress of the CPSU is the origin of the split in the international communist movement. From the moment it took place there arose confusion within the international communist movement and within the ranks of many communist parties. In the final analysis, all the current differences in the international communist movement spring from that congress, and they are becoming deeper with each passing day because the CPSU leadership persists in pursuing and developing the

revisionist line of that congress and insistently seeks to impose it on the fraternal parties of other countries.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU has greatly helped imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries by providing them with weapons against revolution, against communism, and against the socialist camp. After the congress the imperialists and reactionaries seized the opportunity to stir up great waves of opposition to the Soviet Union, to communism and to the people, most prominent among which was the counterrevolutionary rioting in Hungary.

Those enemies of communism, the Trotskyites, also seized the opportunity to move into action. In the past nine years, imperialism and its stooges have consistently made use of the revisionist line, formulated by this congress and later developed and systematized, in order to undermine the international communist movement and to disintegrate the revolutionary cause of the people of all communists.

What Khrushchev and company did during and after the 20th Congress of the CPSU has shown that they have thoroughly betrayed the international proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world, and have so far degenerated as to collude with imperialism and world reaction and work from within in collaboration with the outside enemy to oppose the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of all countries.

No matter how the Khrushchev revisionists try to justify the 20th Congress of the CPSU, it will go down in the history of the international communist movement as an anti-Marxist-Leninist congress which proclaimed the birth of Khrushchev revisionism; a congress that betrayed the proletarian world revolution and served imperialism and world reaction; a congress that split the international communist movement and undermined the great unity of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world; a congress that degenerated the CPSU which Lenin founded, and put it on the path of degeneration from a proletarian political party in the direction of a bourgeois political party; a congress that defamed the great Soviet state and put it on the path of degeneration from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the direction of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The 20th Congress of the CPSU will go down in the annals of history as one that will stink for all time.

From the very beginning, the Chinese Communist Party had a different estimate of the 20th Congress of the CPSU from that of the Khrushchev revisionists. At the time, we repeatedly conveyed our views to the leadership of the CPSU through inner channels and advanced principled criticism of their errors on the question of Stalin and on the question of so-called peaceful transition. We also openly published the two articles, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which we expounded our views in a positive sense. At that time, of course, it was still impossible to see the essence of

Khrushchev revisionism as clearly as we did later, because Khrushchev revisionism was then only beginning to take shape.

According to Marxist-Leninist dialectics, the essence of a thing manifests itself through phenomena, and phenomena unfold gradually. It is only after a process has gone on for a certain time and the contradictions are fully revealed that it becomes possible for people to comprehend the essence of the thing and arrive at correct judgments on the basis of a large number of phenomena and, in particular, the test of practice. Khrushchev revisionism has gone through a process of development. It was camouflaged under layer after layer of "Marxism-Leninism" and its true features revealed themselves step by step. One's comprehension of it has of necessity to undergo a process. However, it is not too difficult to distinguish between the genuine and the false in the statements and actions of the Khrushchev revisionists if a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the numerous objective facts is made and the essence of Khrushchev revisionism is grasped.

This is the way to deal with Khrushchev and, of course, must be the way to deal with Khrushchev's successors. The experience gained in coping with Khrushchev makes it easier for people to see through Khrushchev's successors to their essence and prevents them from being confused by superficial, transient, and spurious phenomena.

Very clearly then, the problem of one's approach to the 20th and 22d congresses and to the program of the CPSU is the most important, the essential, question in the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and Khrushchev revisionists. Whether one thoroughly exposes and criticizes the revisionist line of the 20th and 22d congresses of the CPSU and of the program of the CPSU or whether one persists in it and propagates it energetically -- here rests the most fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninists and the Khrushchev revisionists.

Insofar as they are persisting in the line of the 20th and 22d congresses of the CPSU and of the program of the CPSU, Khrushchev's successors have shown that they have not in the least changed their revisionist, splittist, and great-nation chauvinist nature, irrespective of how many fine words they utter. Their flowery talk about anti-imperialism, revolution and unity is only protective coloration assumed to deceive people. Their most important revealing words, their soul, their true essence, is to be found in their avowals of adherence to the line of the 20th and 22d congresses and the program of the CPSU.

It has become increasingly clear that Khrushchev's successors are certainly following in his footsteps. They are certainly placing themselves in opposition to the more than 90 percent of the people of the world (including the people of the Soviet Union). Their class position conditions Khrushchev's successors to place around their own necks the noose left by Khrushchev.

The general line of foreign policy which the new leadership of the CPSU has vowed to uphold, consisting of "peaceful coexistence" and "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the solution of the problems of the world," has proved bankrupt in actual practice. Today the U.S. imperialists' frenzied aggression in Vietnam once again shows up the absurdity of this revisionist general line. Johnson, ringleader of U.S. imperialism, like Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy before him, is no "sober" or "sensible" person as Khrushchev and his successors have alleged, but a hatchetman who does not scruple to commit every imaginable crime.

Subjected to aggression, the Vietnamese people in dealing with the utterly vicious U.S. aggressors have no alternative but to resist to the end, to resist until they have completely defeated them, and there can be no question whatever of "peaceful coexistence" with them. Collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States to dominate the world did not work in the past, does not work now, and will not work in the future.

However much they collaborate, the Soviet Union and the United States can never stamp out the just struggles of the great Vietnamese people and the revolutionary peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism; they simply reveal more and more fully how Khrushchev's successors are still transposing their relationships with friend and foe, aligning themselves with the chief enemy of the people of the whole world while directing the sword's edge against the revolutionary peoples.

Now as the Volume 5 of "Khrushchev's Statements" is coming off the press, we make a point of recommending to our readers Khrushchev's report of nine years ago. We suggest that they use the method of comparison to see what Khrushchev paid lip service to and what he actually did at the time, how his words compare with those of his successors, and how he tampered with Marxism-Leninism and what criticisms Marxist-Leninists have made of him. By reviewing the history of the past nine years and making such contrasts, one can better analyze and compare and arrive at correct conclusions.

Khrushchev is finished. Khrushchev revisionism, too, is bankrupt. Yet to this very moment Khrushchev's successors are still clinging to the shattered hulk of Khrushchev revisionism. How does this help them? Battered by the storm of the revolution, this lone craft is falling to pieces. How then can they hope to save it from destruction by patching it up with a few planks?

"A thousand sails skim past the shipwreck; a forest thrives beside the withered tree." These two lines of poetry superbly describe the present situation of revolution in the world. In the process of triumphing in the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, revolutionary theory and the revolutionary ranks of Marxism-Leninism are ceaselessly developing and gaining strength. In the struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the reactionaries of all countries, the revolutionary people of the whole world are breaking through all the

obstacles erected by modern revisionism, one after another, and are advancing like a great fleet of ships riding the waves in full sail. Like forests of trees burgeoning in spring, the great cause of proletarian world revolution is thriving, while, like a sinking ship, like a withering tree, imperialism, reaction, and modern revisionism are nearing their end and life gets more difficult for them day by day.

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SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF FOUNDING OF AGRICULTURAL  
MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN KIANGSU

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Kuang (7115 0342) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, pages 36-47.

For seven whole years now the agricultural middle schools founded in Kiangsu province since 1958 have, under the leadership of the Party, traveled along the road of half farming and half study.

The agricultural middle school is a new type of school which combines education with productive labor. It is an original undertaking in educational work and a product of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This new-type school for a number of years has undergone a process of readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and standard raising and since the second half of last year, strengthened its leadership over the educational system of half work (farming) and half study as directed by the Party center. It is now entering a new stage of development.

Over the past seven years, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province have kept their doors wide open to the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, and provided opportunities for continued studies to over 500,000 children of poor peasants, lower middle peasants, and other laboring people. In the past, the distribution of secondary schools was irrational. They were concentrated mainly in the cities, not the rural areas. And then, the middle school students did not want to stay in the rural areas. These conditions have now been changed. The agricultural middle schools deliver education to the doorsteps of peasants, and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are gradually growing up as the masters of culture.

During the past seven years, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province supplied the rural people's communes with over 400,000 new men with socialist consciousness and a definite cultural and technical standard. Unlike either the ordinary intellectuals or the ordinary

peasants, they can perform both mental and physical work. They are capable of both physical labor and mental labor. They do not share the feeling of self-importance of the intellectuals. They can learn humbly from the masses and mix as one with the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants.

After graduation, some of them have become leaders, accounts, or work point recorders in production teams. Some have become agricultural technicians; some, skilled workers in electrically operated irrigation, tractor operators, or operators of electric plows; and some, teachers of primary schools operated on the principle of half farming and half study. They are active in the three great revolutionary movements -- class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experiment. They are playing an increasingly notable role in all fields, where they are praised by the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants who consider the students of the agricultural middle school "competent, useful, and trustworthy" and "phoenixes born in the thatched huts." Successors to the revolutionary traditions and production experiences of the older generation, they can be expected even to surpass their elders.

During the past seven years, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province gradually trained an army of teachers who have a revolutionary and laboring character and who have close relations with the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. A number of teachers originally could not carry things in their hands or on their shoulders. They have now learned to do many kinds of farm jobs. A number of teachers were originally not very good at teaching. They can now teach skillfully. A number of teachers who were originally unhappy about staying in the rural areas, have now come to love their schools. The masses praise them as "good teachers and good farmers." Their revolutionary actions have effectively advanced the revolutionization of the teachers in full-time schools.

During the past seven years, through continuous practice, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province accumulated some preliminary experiences concerning the principle of school building, the line of operation of schools, the direction for such operation, and Party leadership. Very favorable conditions were thus created for the more extensive enforcement of the educational system of half work (farming) and half study.

Bourgeois educators once concluded that the agricultural middle schools, like "the tail of a rabbit, could not grow." They were wrong. Though, like any new things, the agricultural middle schools were caught in many storms during their advance in the past seven years, yet, because they followed the direction for the development of education in the future and were urgently needed by the broad masses, no force of any kind could impede their advance. At present, they have not only been sustained and consolidated, but are increasingly demonstrating their immense superiority and great vitality.

Proper Running of Agricultural Middle Schools Is Urgently  
Required by Broad Masses of Poor Peasants and  
Lower-Middle Peasants

Active and gradual development of the educational system of half work (farming) and half study is a strategic measure on our country's educational front. The agricultural middle school is characterized by half farming and half study. Its advantages are as follows. It facilitates the generalization of secondary education with greater, faster, better, and more economical results, and gives maximum satisfaction to the demand for education of the children of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. It facilitates turning the intellectuals into the laboring people, and the laboring people into the intellectuals. It facilitates basically eliminating the social foundation for revisionism, and the training of revolutionary successors of the proletariat. It facilitates gradually narrowing the gaps between town and countryside, between the worker and the peasant, and between mental labor and physical labor, and prepares conditions for entry into the Communist society.

Education is subordinate to, and serves, the politics of specific classes. Education must suit the economic base and serves it. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Any given culture (culture as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economy of a given society, while it has in turn a tremendous influence and effect upon the politics and economy of the given society." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, People's Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1952, pp. 656-657) This is our basic viewpoint with regard to the relations of culture with politics and economy. Our socialist education must become a powerful weapon for transforming the old society and building the new, and a tool for proletarian dictatorship.

Our rural educational work must first serve the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. They are our social foundation in the rural areas for the building of socialism and Communism. Implementation of the Party's class line of depending on the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants must be demonstrated not only politically and organizationally, but also culturally and educationally. We must try all possible methods for providing more schooling to the children of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants so that they may gradually master scientific and cultural knowledge.

In the old society, the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants were in the position of the oppressed and the exploited. They were also deprived of opportunities for receiving education. For generation after generation, they were deceived and fooled by the ruling class, suffering untold hardships.

After the liberation, the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants have risen to the top politically and made some improvements economically also. But their cultural backwardness has not

yet been basically changed. In some production teams, because the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are scarcely literate, they cannot hold such important offices as the accountant, the wage point recorder, and the custodian. This has affected the development and consolidation of the collective economy.

In practical living, the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants have come to appreciate ever more deeply that, in order to hold firmly the seal [symbol of authority] of the proletariat, they must not only hold the gun firmly but also hold the pen and have intellectuals of their own. It is for this reason that the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants have a strong desire for mastering culture. They welcome the agricultural middle school very much, and they eagerly hope that their children will be able to receive secondary and higher education through half farming and half studying and with little or no expense. The agricultural middle schools could not be blown apart or cut down during the past seven years, and the reason for this was that they had the support of the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, and had a deep-seated class foundation. Thus, operating these schools well, and actively enforcing the educational system of half work (farming) and half study, constitute actually a question of implementing the class line on the educational front. They have a bearing on the question of the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and other laboring people being really the masters, and the question of consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. In this sense, whether one tries actively to run these schools well, and whether one can satisfy the demand of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants for a rise to the top culturally, constitute a question of whether one has the mass viewpoint and the class viewpoint.

Our rural educational work must serve the further consolidation of the collective economy and development of agricultural production. Following the development of the collective economy, the increasing mechanization of agriculture, and the extensive adoption of new techniques, the rural areas are in need of a large number of administrative and technical personnel. They need people with knowledge of agricultural sciences, such as meteorology, water conservancy, soil, agronomy, plant protection, and veterinary science. They need people skilled in operating and repairing machinery. They need financial administration personnel who know bookkeeping, account settling, and economic accounting. They also need many cadres to do educational and public health work.

According to a survey conducted by P'ailou Agricultural Middle School in the suburbs of Nanking municipality, P'ailou commune at the moment badly needs 226 elementary technicians of various kinds. It especially needs machine operators, water conservancy technicians, and veterinarians.

For the training of such personnel, the ordinary middle schools and institutions of higher learning are far from being able to meet the

demand. It is necessary to implement the directive of walking on two legs. While running the full-time schools and spare-time schools of different kinds well, it is necessary to try actively to run the agricultural middle schools well and enforce the educational system of half work (farming) and half study. The practice of the past seven years shows that that is a method to achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results. At little cost to the State and to the parents, students are trained who are sound in political thinking, sound in class stand, sound in physical labor, and sound in production techniques. What is more, while studying, they create material wealth for the collective.

Our rural educational work must create conditions for the gradual elimination of the differences between town and countryside, between the worker and the peasant, and between mental labor and physical labor, as well as conditions for the basic elimination of the social foundation on which revisionism may arise. The final goal of our revolution is to eliminate the three kinds of differences mentioned above, and realize Communism. It will take a very long time to eliminate the differences. But we must not wait idly for the time to come. At the socialist stage, and beginning now, we must work hard to create conditions for the gradual elimination of the differences.

The proper running of the agricultural middle schools, and the enforcement of the educational system of half working (farming) and half studying, are revolutionary measures in the system of education and the system of labor which will gradually eliminate the differences between mental labor and physical labor. The practice of the past seven years shows that, while training students, the agricultural middle schools and other schools operated on the principle of half work (farming) and half study adhere to the integration of making an intellectual assume a laboring character and a laborer an intellectual character. They thus greatly facilitate the training of revolutionary successors of the proletariat and the gradual elimination of the differences between mental labor and physical labor.

For this reason, the proper running of the agricultural middle schools, and the enforcement of the educational system of half work (farming) and half study, not only play a huge role now with the level of production and the economic ability of the people as they are, but will play a huge role after production has developed to a greater extent and the economic ability of the people has been greatly increased. They have a bearing not only on the plan of building socialism, but also on the plan of building Communism. In this sense, whether one tries actively to run these schools well is a question of whether one thinks in terms of class struggle, and a question of whether one has political far-sight.

All the above goes to show that the proper running of the agricultural middle schools, and the enforcement of the educational system of half work (farming) and half study, have extremely far-reaching significance, and are in accord with the interests of the broad masses

of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and the interests of socialism and Communism.

The Agricultural Middle Schools Grow Up and Develop in the  
Struggle between Proletarian Education Thought  
and Bourgeois Education Thought

At the moment, on the educational front, too, the class struggle and a struggle between two lines on education and two kinds of thoughts on education -- proletarian and bourgeois exist. The process whereby the agricultural middle schools have grown up and developed, is a process whereby, under the leadership of the Party and with the support of the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, and other laboring people, acute struggles have been waged successively against bourgeois thought on education.

Since the day of their founding, people have held two different kinds of views on, and adopted two different kinds of attitudes toward, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province. The broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres heartily welcomed and supported this original undertaking. They praised the schools and considered them "schools for the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants," "red schools," and "a base for training of revolutionary successors of the proletariat."

A small number of people, on the other hand, shook their heads at this unaccustomed sight. They ridiculed the agricultural middle schools as "irregular," "unbecoming," "incapable of being run well," and "incapable of lasting long." They talked about "three unlike's" -- the school is unlike a school, the teachers are unlike teachers, and the students are unlike students. They said such things as that the school "falls short of the target both in producing intellectuals and in producing laborers."

In the course of the readjustment, consolidation, and standard raising of agricultural middle schools, the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres insisted that it be continued to the end. A small number of people, on the other hand, strongly advocated its suspension or operation on a reduced scale, and advocated its being brought in line with the full-time schools. They said that operating agricultural middle schools was a "wrong direction," for they "do not suit the objective needs and have no future."

The agricultural middle schools carried on. After they had delivered large numbers of trained personnel to all fields, the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres said that its students were "competent." A small number of people, on the other hand, said that the agricultural middle school was "incapable of producing useful persons." This struggle has never ceased, and it will go on for a considerable length of time.

Is the agricultural middle school "regular or irregular," "becoming or unbecoming?" What is meant by "regular," and what by "becoming?" Different classes define these terms differently, and so do different societies. To the bourgeoisie, it is "regular" if mental labor is separated from physical labor, and teaching and learning are carried out without regard for reality; it is "becoming" if neither teachers nor students take part in labor, and the school has a nice building and is fully equipped. Conversely, it is "irregular" if students both study and till the land, teachers both teach and labor, and teaching and learning are carried out with regard for reality; and it is "unbecoming" if the school building and its equipment are crude and simple.

To the proletariat, if the school is operated on the principle where the time is divided between work (farming) and study, like the full-time school, it is a regular educational system. The agricultural middle school, like the full-time school, is a regular school.

Long ago, in their Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels already proposed the "integration of education and material production." (Communist Manifesto, People's Publishing House, 1964, p. 48) Marx further pointed out, "Such an education will, in the case of a child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings." (Capital, Vol. 1, People's Publishing House, 1963, p. 522)

In the school operated on the principle of half farming and half study, the students study and farm, while the teachers teach and farm. This is precisely implementation of the Party's directive on education. Adoption of existing crude and simple facilities, and relying on one's own resources, are precisely a concrete manifestation of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Such a school is a socialist regular school.

On the other hand, if a school has "becoming" buildings and equipment, teaches so-called "regular" courses, and has so-called "becoming" teachers, but its teachers and students separate themselves from productive labor and look down upon the laboring people, then it is an irregular and unbecoming school, whether it be a half-day school or full-time school. We must smash the old framework to which the bourgeoisie restricts the conducting of education, smash the bourgeois notions of "regular" and "becoming," and set up proletarian notions of "regular" and "becoming." To be sure, like all other new things, the agricultural middle school was imperfect at the beginning and has had to undergo a gradual process from imperfection to perfection. We must not look at a question one-sidedly, in isolation, or inflexibly. We must look at it from all sides and take account of possibilities of development. We must not be passive spectators to the shortcomings and problems developed by the agricultural middle school during its advance. Still less may we deliberately find fault with it and exaggerate its shortcomings and problems. We should be

full of enthusiasm for it, love it, support it, and help it to overcome its shortcomings, so that it may be perfected gradually.

Can the agricultural middle school produce useful trained personnel? Different classes have different targets for the training of personnel. The bourgeoisie wants to train exploiters who are full of bourgeois thought, and people who serve the exploiting class. The proletariat wants to train laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. To the bourgeoisie, participation in physical labor is a waste of time. In its view, students can acquire more knowledge and useful trained personnel can be produced only if education is separated from productive labor, and the students study but do not farm (or work).

To the proletariat, of the full development of a man, the most important part is the simultaneous development of mental labor and physical labor. A man's knowledge is either direct experience or indirect experience. By reading, he acquires indirect experience and increases his knowledge. But he cannot acquire complete knowledge by reading alone. More than 20 years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already said: "There are two kinds of incomplete knowledge: one is knowledge already contained in books and the other is knowledge which is usually perceptual and partial, and both are one-sided. Only through an integration of the two can excellent and comparatively complete knowledge emerge." He said further, "Now let us look at some students, the students who have been brought up in schools completely divorced from the practical activities of society. How about them? A man proceeds from a primary school of that sort to a university of the same sort, takes his diploma, and is regarded as stocked with knowledge. But all that he has is book knowledge, and he has not yet taken part in any practical activities or applied in any branch of social life the knowledge he has acquired. Can such a person be regarded as a complete intellectual? Hardly so; because his knowledge is not yet complete." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 3, People's Publishing House, 2nd ed., 1953, pp. 820 and 818)

In the agricultural middle school operated on the principle of half farming and half study, the students both read and labor. Such integration of book knowledge with practical experience can prevent the shortcomings in question. The students can acquire complete knowledge, and their development morally, intellectually, and physically will be advanced. In this way, new people who are red and expert and who are capable of both mental labor and physical labor can be trained. Has the practice of the agricultural middle school in the past seven years not completely proved this point?

Is the agricultural middle school the direction in which development should be sought, and does it have a future? To the bourgeoisie, it has no future. Basically, it need not have been operated. Since it is operated, it is only a provisional measure and an expedient. It will not live long. In the long run, it will have to be brought in line with the full-time schools. In our opinion, the founding of the agricultural



middle school was not fortuitous. After accumulating experiences on the operation of schools for many years, we felt deeply that the agricultural middle school is a correct way of solving properly such problems as the tendency for teaching and learning to be divorced from reality and from productive labor, and students' participation in physical labor and in the construction of rural areas and going to work in places of the greatest hardship.

The agricultural middle school, like other schools operated on the principle of half work (farming) and half study, fully realizes the Party's directive on education on the one hand and is suited to the needs of the broad masses of the laboring people on the other. It is the necessary trend of development of history and the direction in which socialist and Communist education should develop in the long run. It has immense vitality. It is evergreen. In a number of years to come, we should on the one hand continue with the reform of the current system of full-time schools and seriously implement the directive of letting education serve the politics of the proletariat and combining it with productive labor. On the other hand, we should develop schools operated on the principle of half work (farming) and half study. The educational system of half work (farming) and half study is bound to become gradually the principal component of our country's educational system.

The two different kinds of attitudes toward the agricultural middle school actually reflect the struggle between two lines of education and two kinds of thought on education -- proletarian and bourgeois. In the final analysis, those who say that the agricultural middle school is "irregular" and "unbecoming," is "incapable of producing useful trained personnel," and "does not have a future," say so just because they consciously or unconsciously oppose the directive of letting education serve politics of the proletariat, oppose the integration of education with productive labor, oppose the diminution of the differences between mental labor and physical labor, and oppose the revolution of education and the reform of teaching. These people, who are of a small number, include bourgeois educators, people with deep bourgeois thought, and people who, influenced by the force of habit, do not yet understand the matter clearly. As it appears now, the problem of the overwhelming majority of them is a problem of understanding. They have failed to free themselves from the influence of the bourgeois thought on education, to smash the fetters of the force of habit, to broaden their vision, or to liberate their minds. As a result, they are unable to adopt a correct attitude toward the new thing. What deserves our close watch is that class enemies, too, are attacking and opposing the agricultural middle school by all conceivable methods and with an ulterior motive. What they want is to change its direction.

The practice of the past seven years shows that, unless an acute struggle is waged against the different bourgeois thoughts on education, the agricultural middle school will be incapable of development or consolidation. When we did not yet adequately realize the revolutionary

significance of this new-type school and did not yet understand it clearly, bourgeois thought on education ran wild with adverse effects on the development and consolidation of the agricultural middle school. When we firmly implemented the thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on education and the Party's directive on education, and struggled against bourgeois thought on education, the agricultural middle school run properly, the leadership cadres, the teachers, and the students must all step up their study of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, raise high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and firmly set up proletarian thought on education.

### The Agricultural Middle Schools Must Depend on the Collective and the Masses

Unlike the full-time schools operated by the State and the spare-time schools of various kinds operated by the factories, enterprises, and public offices, the agricultural middle school is a school operated by the laboring people themselves under the collective economic system of the people's communes. It directly trains for people's communes intermediary and elementary technicians and administrative cadres with socialist consciousness and with a definite cultural and technical level. The practice of the past seven years shows that it is only by depending on the people's communes and production brigades under the leadership of the Party, and by turning to account the active character of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants for the operation of the school, that the agricultural middle school can sweep all difficulties aside, be consolidated and develop continuously, and advance along the correct track.

The agricultural middle school is a component of the undertakings of the people's communes. It is a collective undertaking of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. It must depend upon the collective for its operation. Only thus can difficulties of all kinds encountered in the operation of the school be solved more smoothly. The organizations at various levels in the people's communes have the duty to show active concern over the growth and development of the agricultural middle school, continuously give it spiritual support, and encourage teachers and students to display a revolutionary spirit and overcome all difficulties by depending on their own resources. At the same time, they must give the school the necessary material support. For instance, they should set aside for the use of the school some productive land or small areas of experimental land, allot some public buildings to it, etc. Where conditions permit and where the collective and the masses are willing, such material support is completely reasonable. One should not find fault with it in any way.

The agricultural middle school is a school of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants themselves. In the operation of this school, the active character of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants must be turned to account, and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants must be depended upon. The poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are

the forces on which the Party depends in the rural areas. They are also the most powerful supporters for the development of education and the proper running of the agricultural middle school in the rural areas. It is necessary, under the leadership of the Party, to place all major matters of the school, such as the building of the school, the hiring of teachers, the enrollment of students, productive labor, the planning of teaching, and budgeting, under the supervision of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, so that the leadership over the school is really held in the hands of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants.

In order to depend on the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants in the operation of the school, it is necessary to show concern over them, to listen to their views regularly, to understand their needs, and to try all possible methods for providing their children with opportunities for schooling.

Since the second half of 1964, many agricultural middle schools in our province have set up operational committees composed mainly of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. In this way, the tie between the school and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants has been strengthened. Since the beginning of this year, it has been stressed that the preparatory committees for associations of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants at all levels must attend to the agricultural middle schools and attend to the question of admission of children of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants into school as well as their promotion to higher classes. In this way, the agricultural middle schools has been further consolidated and developed. The proportion of students who are children of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants has risen greatly. The direction for the operation of the schools has been further corrected. The poor peasants and lower-middle peasants are right to say, "In the past, landlords and rich peasants were on the board of trustees, and schools closed their doors to the children of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. Now, it is the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants who are operating the schools. Whatever difficulty the school may have, we support it in the solution."

The agricultural middle school is a new-type revolutionary school. It must display the revolutionary spirit of depending on one's own resources and operating by industry and frugality. It must adhere to the principle of "operating the school by poor men's methods" and oppose the principle of "operating the school by rich men's methods." Industry and frugality, and hard struggle, are the fine traditions of the proletariat. Extravagance and waste, and pursuit for appearance, are corrupt practices of the bourgeoisie. The agricultural middle school must insist on operating by industry and frugality before it can lodge its roots in the midst of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, resist the erosion of bourgeois thought, and save expenses for the State and the collective and lighten the burden of parents. Immediately after their founding, all the agricultural middle schools in our province operated by industry and frugality and depended on their own resources. As there was no school

building, the teachers and students erected it themselves. As there were neither desks nor chairs, they were made with earth. The many production brigade-operated agricultural middle schools which were developed newly in the second half of last year, all made use also of existing simple and crude facilities, and needed no support from the State. The production brigades concerned depended on their own resources. Precisely because the schools were built by themselves, the teachers and students love their schools even though their equipment is very crude and simple. Some students said, "The schools are built of earth and have tiled roofs. The desks and chairs are made of earth. But they are new-type schools. There are new things and new people. The system of half farming and half study is infinitely good. The Party's decision to operate the agricultural middle schools is a good decision." We must inherit the fine tradition of industry and frugality and depending on one's own resources. We must never give up this tradition.

#### An Agricultural Middle School Must Persist in the Line of Dividing Time between Farming and Study

Dividing time between farming and study is the most important characteristic of the agricultural middle school. Whether or not an agricultural middle school can be consolidated and developed depends on whether or not it can persistently follow the line of dividing time between farming and study.

Only through enforcing the farming-study system can a middle school enable its students to acquire spiritual wealth and create definite material wealth in the course of study. They can enhance their political and cultural wealth as well as learn production techniques in labor practice. If they only study without doing farm work or take up farming without study, the demand of the children of poor and lower-middle peasants for schooling cannot be met, and new people of all-round development cannot be developed. Practice in the past seven years shows that if an agricultural middle school persists in the farming-study system, it is full of vitality, and if it departs from this correct line, it will go astray.

Through the farming-study system, an agricultural middle school must gradually insure that the income from the students' labor in the school and teams can meet the administrative expenses of the school and the teachers' wages as well as the schooling and living expenses of the children of poor and lower-middle peasants. Thus the burden of the parents of these students can be further alleviated, and more children of poor and lower-middle peasants are given an opportunity for schooling. The longer the school is run, the more solid it will become.

Through persisting in going into agricultural and sideline production in a big way in the past seven years, the Huangchi Agricultural Middle School of Tungshan hsien has become basically self-supporting in production and "an iron-clad school which cannot be washed away by flood

water." The parents of students observed emotionally: "We have never seen such a school before. It is due to the blessing of Chairman Mao that schooling is now free."

After seven years of practice, the agricultural middle schools of Kiangsu province have acquired some good experiences:

First, the ways schools are run and the types of labor performed vary flexibly according to local conditions.

At present, the agricultural middle schools in our province are mainly divided into four types: One is for a brigade to build a school with its students "studying in the school, performing labor in teams, and feeding and sleeping in their own homes." The second way is for several brigades to join together to run a school. Its students work mainly in their own teams. The third way is for a commune to set up a school for boarders and day students. They work in the school as well as in teams. The fourth way is for several communes to build a school together or for a State farm to run a school. There is more land for production, and the students can centrally study and work in their own school on a self-supporting basis in production.

As things stand now, when agricultural middle schools are developed in the future, it is generally better for several brigades to run a school together. This is because: first, the wider source of supply of students facilitates the consolidation and development of the school; second, the ability of its students to return to work in their own teams facilitates the integration of farming with study; third, full enrollment facilitates economy of teachers and teaching and reduces the burden of parents.

If each brigade runs its own school, although it is convenient for its students to return to their own teams to perform labor, yet in the long run, because not enough students can be found, the burden of parents will increase correspondingly, and the consolidation of the school will inevitably be affected.

As a consequence, it is wrong to one-sidedly and generally emphasize that the smaller it is the better.

As to the last two types of schools, they are more suitable for the sparsely populated areas, mountainous areas with poor communications, areas criss-crossed by waterways, and agricultural and forest farms.

Therefore, the way to run school and the type of labor performed must be based upon the actual situation of a locality, and favorable to the integration of farming and study as well as the consolidation and development of the school. This cannot be subjectively determined.

Second, time for teaching and labor must be properly arranged according to the principle of "devoting more time to study in the slack

season, spending less time in study during the more busy season, and giving up production in the most busy season" to insure that equal attention is paid to farming and study.

Practice in the past seven years shows that an agricultural middle school cannot be run according to established rules -- with winter and summer vacations like a full day school. Nor can the half-day or alternate-day system be mechanically adopted regardless of whether the time is slack or busy. It must devote more time to study in the slack season, spend less time in study during the more busy season, and give up study in the most busy season before it can really integrate farming with study. With this method adopted, about six months will be spent in teaching, about five months will be spent in labor and there will be about a month of holidays each year. Now, some agricultural middle schools have abolished the Sunday system and enforced the solar period system. Teaching, labor and holidays are arranged according to the 24 solar periods, much to the welcome of the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Third, the subjects provided and the things taught must be fewer but fine. Theory must be linked with practice and study with application so that the students may learn them flexibly, understand them profoundly, remember them firmly, make use of them, and really learn things.

The agricultural middle schools in our province generally teach political knowledge, language, mathematics, and agricultural knowledge. Among the things taught, the teaching of essays of practical use, abacus, bookkeeping, statistics, permanship and various basic production techniques which have a close bearing on rural production and life is intensified.

Teaching methods which link theory with practice -- triple combination of teaching, productive labor and scientific experiment, triple combination of teachers, students and old peasants, triple combination of schools, production teams and four rural stations (stations for propagating techniques, tractor stations, electro-mechanical drainage and irrigation stations and veterinary stations) -- are adopted to lay a good foundation for students in two respects: secondary cultural knowledge and agricultural production knowledge and techniques.

Many old agricultural middle schools in our province have made considerable effort to improve teaching.

The P'ailou Agricultural Middle School of suburban Nanking has adopted many methods -- flexible study and application, integration of study with application -- to enable the students to devote themselves to farming, master a set of farm work, write good characters, and make calculations with the abacus.

The Hsishihch'iao Agricultural Middle School of Chiangyin hsien has set up an agricultural meteorological station, a station for propagating good strains, a veterinary station and a station for forecasting plant diseases and insect pests to facilitate production and improve teaching.

The Shihch'iao Agricultural Middle School of Ch'ienchiang hsien has reformed the examination system by conducting "tests in basic knowledge, application of practical knowledge, and operation of production techniques. When the students are examined in composition of practical use, they are required to write a simple report on investigation and a plan for increase of production. When they are examined in agricultural knowledge, they are required to do practical work in the fields, and old peasants are invited to evaluate their achievements.

Many agricultural middle schools have also appointed poor and lower-middle peasants with production experience as teachers of agricultural knowledge to implement the mass line in teaching.

The teaching of lessons and knowledge is thus enlivened. According to the appraisal of poor and lower-middle peasants, the students trained are able "to till land in a businesslike manner, transplant seedlings in rows, write well and work on the abacus."

Practice in the past seven years shows that the farming-study system would not impede teaching, but would facilitate the linking of theory with practice and make a success of teaching.

The students of agricultural middle schools perform labor as they study. They are capable of learning with production problems in mind and quickly applying the knowledge learned in production practice. The teachers perform labor as they teach. They are able to deepen their comprehension of the material of instruction through production practice, and also accumulate abundant living material of instruction in practice to reinforce the things taught. There is thus study in farming and farming in study. Teaching and productive labor permeate and promote each other.

In order to improve the quality of teaching, teachers of agricultural middle schools must be good at learning professional knowledge and teaching experience from teachers of full-day middle schools, but they must not mechanically adopt the set of methods used in such schools. They must proceed from reality, and according to the characteristics of the farming-study system, absorb the useful things, discard those unsuitable, and develop things unique to them. They must gradually recognize and master the laws governing teaching work in farming-study schools, and feel out and create a set of suitable methods for their own use.

Fourth, we must seize hold of teaching as well as labor, labor in school as well as labor in teams.

A few agricultural middle schools in our province perform labor principally in the school. The majority of them principally perform labor in teams, or combine labor in school with labor in teams. Income from labor in school is used to pay for the upkeep of the school, while income from labor in teams is used to pay for living expenses of students. Consequently, the teachers must exercise a good grip not only on labor performed by students in the school but also on their labor in teams. They cannot wash their hands once the students are away from the school.

In order to insure that the students actively participate in labor and study production techniques during the busy season when they are sent back to work in their teams, it is necessary to work in conjunction with their parents and production team cadres. According to the age of the students and their capacity for labor, a basic number of man-days must be set for them, and periodic inspection and examination must be carried out.

The Shihch'iao and other agricultural middle schools of Ch'ien-chiang hsien has enforced the system of appointing supervising personnel out of the school for production teams. Poor and lower-middle peasants who are good at political thinking and have production experience are appointed as supervising personnel for each student, so that after the return of students to their teams they can learn agricultural production techniques and the fine qualities of poor and lower-middle peasants. In this way, through returning to their teams to perform labor, the students generally can obtain 500 or 600 points, and are basically able to earn enough money themselves to pay for their schooling expenses and the greater part of their living expenses. The school can also be further consolidated and developed.

Apart from this, effort must be made to turn the production ground of an agricultural middle school into a place for conducting scientific experiments, for setting example in high yield, and for popularizing new techniques. Because production is well managed inside the Chienshe Agricultural Middle School of Wuhsien, the commune has held more than ten on-site meetings there at different times, and popularized its advanced experiences in fast planting and storing yam and grafting fruit trees. It has become a base for propagating advanced techniques.

#### Build an Army of Revolutionized Teachers Who Divide the Time between Farming and Teaching

The educational undertaking of the proletariat must be run by revolutionary teachers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. In order to run agricultural middle schools well, it is necessary to have an army of revolutionized teachers who divided their time between farming and teaching.

Running agricultural middle schools to enforce the work (farming)-study educational system is a revolution in China's educational undertaking.



As teachers of agricultural middle schools, they must be revolutionary. Teachers of agricultural middle schools must seize hold of teaching and labor, and do a lot of mass work. Their job is a hard one.

Such schools have no made-to-order premises and are not fully equipped. The masses must gradually build everything with their own hands. The conditions are poor and the difficulties are numerous. If the teachers come not with the aim of serving revolution, socialist construction and the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, but with an individualist aim, they cannot persist in their work. They must arm themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, establish revolutionary ambitions and the thought of serving the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants wholeheartedly, and run their schools with a revolutionary spirit and class feelings before they can cherish their undertakings, overcome all difficulties, and run their schools well.

In order to revolutionize the teachers of agricultural middle schools, they must first be transformed into laborers.

While the students divide their time between farming and study, the teachers must divide their time between farming and teaching. They must persistently participate in manual labor and enforce the farming-teaching system before they can mix as one with the masses of the workers and peasants in a better way, integrate themselves with the working and peasant masses, heighten their consciousness, remold their thought, establish the proletarian world outlook, improve teaching, really cultivate students who are both red and vocationally proficient, and capable of performing both manual and mental labor, set example to students, and give shape to a new relationship between teachers and students.

If they are divorced from productive labor and do not enforce the farming-teaching system, they cannot satisfactorily remold themselves and teach their students well.

Consequently, enforcing the farming-teaching system is an important way to revolutionize the teachers of agricultural middle schools.

Such teachers should in the future strive to defray part of their living expenses through their own labor so as to reduce the burden of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In order to enable the teachers to enforce the farming-teaching system, it is necessary to solve the problem of recognition, and there must also be concrete measures, labor targets and a labor inspection system.

A teacher must generally be required to perform labor for three or four months each year. At the same time, teachers of agricultural middle schools must actively participate in various political activities in the countryside and receive training in class struggle.

At present the socialist education campaign is being launched in the countryside. This is a good opportunity for them to get steeled and tested. They must have a good understanding of the present class struggle in the countryside and learn to use the method of class analysis before they can energetically criticize the bourgeois educational thought and really make a success of the educational undertaking of the proletariat.

Many teachers of agricultural middle schools in our province have firmly adhered to their stations of work all the time since 1958. Over the course of seven years, as the agricultural middle schools grew and developed, they were also steeled, and quickly grew up politically, ideologically and professionally.

In the revolutionary furnace of agricultural middle schools under the leadership of the Party, they have gradually intensified their fervent love for the countryside and established the thought of serving the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants wholeheartedly. Their relationship with the students is an intimate one based upon democratic equality. The teachers educate the students on the one hand and learn from them on the other hand. They humbly accept the views of their students, and make use of the latter's production knowledge to remedy their shortcomings in teaching. Teaching and studying thus really work for the advancement of each other.

Over the course of seven years, quite a number of advance elements have emerged among them.

At the time the Fanghsiang Agricultural Middle School of Ch'ien-chiang hsien was founded, its deputy headmaster Wu Shou-li was merely a junior middle school graduate fresh from school. However, because he came from a poverty-stricken peasant family, he realized profoundly the urgent demand of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants for culture. As a consequence, he refused to feel discouraged because of difficulties, and devised all ways and means to inject vitality into the school.

Teacher Yeh Kuo-ying of Huangchi Agricultural Middle School in Tungshan hsien was formerly a city girl of South Kiangsu. After her graduation from a senior middle school in 1958, she responded to the call of the Party, and came to Hsuchow district where life was harder to serve as an agricultural middle school teacher. In the past seven years, she actively participated in productive labor all the time. She was not afraid of dirty and tiresome work and firmly followed the road of transforming an intellectual into a laborer. Led by the Party committee attached to the commune, she and other teachers exerted themselves to bring greater successes to the school. She was elected at different times a national "March 8" red banner bearer and deputy to the National People's Congress.

There are many teachers like Wu Shou-li and Yeh Kuo-ying, and they have paid a great price for the growth and consolidation of agricultural middle schools.

Since last year, the agricultural middle schools in our province have also been reinforced with a large number of new teachers. The majority of them are educated youth who have returned to the countryside to participate in agricultural production and are inserted into teams. They have generally participated in productive labor and are keen in making a success of agricultural middle schools. This is a most valuable army. Provided we exercise stronger leadership, this army certainly can march forward continuously in the direction of revolutionization and labor transformation.

In order to further revolutionization and labor transformation of agricultural middle school teachers, they must strive to be "good in four respects."

1) They must be good in thought. They must read Chairman Mao's books, heed what Chairman Mao says, do things according to Chairman Mao's instructions, and be Chairman Mao's good students. They must hold high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and fight against all bourgeois ideas in education. They must fervently love the countryside and agricultural middle schools and serve the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants wholeheartedly. They must be red and vocationally proficient in agricultural middle schools.

2) They must be good in labor. They must not be afraid of dirty and tiresome work, persistently participate in manual labor, enforce the farming-teaching system, strive to master the basic farming techniques of the locality, and transform themselves into intellectuals capable of performing manual work.

3) They must be good in teaching. They must closely link themselves with reality, dare to carry out reforms, and be good at creation. They must incessantly improve teaching, heighten teaching quality, and actively look for teaching methods suitable for the farming-study system.

4) They must be good in work style. They must persist in running schools with hard work and thrift and in a democratic way. They must closely link themselves with the masses outside the school and mix as one with the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. They must build a new type of teacher-student relationship inside the school.

We truly believe that provided the teachers of agricultural middle schools are guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, persist in the farming-teaching system, and throw themselves into the three great revolutionary movements -- class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment -- they surely will gradually become the vanguard of a new type of teachers who integrate mental labor with manual labor and set

the example in revolutionizing the broad masses of the teachers and transforming them into laborers.

### Further Strengthen Party Leadership Over Agricultural Middle Schools

It is the business of the whole Party to run well agricultural middle schools and to enforce the educational system based upon dividing time between work (farming) and study. Practice in the past seven years shows that the consolidation and development of agricultural middle schools is at all times inseparable from the leadership of the Party and the close cooperation and coordination of the various departments concerned. In order to make a greater success of agricultural middle schools, it is necessary to strengthen further the leadership of the Party and fully develop the role of the various departments concerned.

The attitude we adopt toward agricultural middle schools and work (farming)-study schools -- whether we endorse or oppose them, whether we adopt the positive attitude of developing and making a success of them or deal with them passively without doing anything to make a success of them, whether we support them with enthusiasm or stand by to make comments on them or stand on the opposite side to ridicule and oppose them -- is the Lydian stone to test whether we truly support the educational thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the educational guideline of the Party. Every Party cadre must view the agricultural middle school with the revolutionary viewpoint and the viewpoint on development, and be one who promotes progress by enforcing the work (farming)-study educational system.

An agricultural middle school is a new undertaking. It is a new type of school not found in the feudal society or the capitalist society. Nothing useful can be borrowed from bourgeois pedagogics for running such schools.

Although we have now acquired some preliminary experience through seven years of practice, yet because the time is short, such experience is incomplete and unsystematic. Consequently, we must carry on with our practice unceasingly, and sum up experience and march forward continuously under the leadership of the Party.

It is now necessary for agricultural middle schools to pay attention to both consolidation and development. Experience shows that the consolidation and development of agricultural middle schools cannot be distinctly cut apart. It is necessary to grasp consolidation in development and also development in consolidation.

It must not be thought that if we want consolidation, development must be stopped, and that if we want development we cannot pay attention to consolidation and improvement. To be sure, within a given period, we can pay greater attention to some work. Sometimes, we can pay greater attention to development and sometimes to consolidation.

As far as the majority of areas in our province are concerned, the central problem before us remains to be the problem of development, and it is necessary to develop more such schools in the second half of this year.

There is right now every condition for the proper development of agricultural middle schools. With the energetic patronage of the Party, with the active support of the broad masses of the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants, with the supply of teachers reinforced by large numbers of educated youth who have returned to the countryside to join production teams, and with some preliminary experience in running such schools already acquired, we can overcome all difficulties and develop such schools at a faster rate.

Development work should be actively and cautiously implemented. After the problems of student supply, school premises and teachers are ascertained, schools must be built in a planned and methodical manner, and every school must be consolidated.

Up to a certain extent, the consolidation and improvement of agricultural middle schools is much more difficult than their development. Practice in the past seven years shows that in order to consolidate an agricultural middle school, it is necessary to grasp ideological work. We must further publicize among the cadres and the masses the superiority of the work (farming)-study educational system and the significance, role and far-reaching prospects of agricultural middle schools so that everybody may adopt a correct attitude toward such schools.

Second, it is necessary to grasp the mass line for running schools and persist in depending upon collectives and poor peasants and lower-middle peasants to run schools.

Third, it is necessary to see to it that the students divide their time between farming and study and that the teachers divide their time between farming and teaching, so that the students may attend school with no or less expenses and can learn a greater number of things.

Agricultural middle schools can be consolidated only when these things are well grasped.

In the course of developing and consolidating agricultural middle schools, strengthening of Party leadership must be integrated with mass activism for running schools, the functions of educational business departments must be integrated with those of various departments concerned, and full-day schools must be integrated with work (farming)-study schools.

Party committees at various levels must take the initiative in assuming the responsibility of exercising good leadership over agricultural middle schools, and seriously review their responsibility several times a year.

Agricultural middle schools are under the direct leadership of Party committees attached to communes and Party branches attached to brigades. The exercise of stronger leadership by Party organizations at these two levels over agricultural middle schools is of especial importance. Party committees of communes and Party branches of brigades must look upon their exercise of leadership over agricultural middle schools as a kind of work for implementing the class line of the Party, for fostering heirs to the revolution, for consolidating the collective economy and for developing collective production. They must especially arouse the activism of the broad masses for running schools, and depend on them to run agricultural middle schools well.

With the enforcement of the work (farming)-study educational system, educational business departments must exercise control over teaching as well as production in school. The various departments concerned must exercise control over production as well as education. Apart from continuing to exercise a good control over pedagogic reforms in full-day schools, the educational business departments must devote more energy to the control of agricultural middle schools and work (farming)-study schools. They must earnestly help the lower level run a number of agricultural middle schools well, set examples to lead the general forward, and make this new thing enjoy robust growth.

The agricultural middle schools in our province are now eight years old. In the history of our country, no reactionary ruling class has ever brought the middle school to the doors of the peasants. In the capitalist world, no country or political party in power has ever given thought to the problem of education for the broad masses of the poverty-stricken peasants. Only in our socialist China today, the banner of educational revolution based on the work (farming)-study system has been raised to bring agricultural middle schools to the doors of the peasants, thus allowing millions of children of poor peasants and lower-middle peasants to become the masters of culture.

We certainly must look far ahead, and link the proletarian educational enterprise with the whole revolutionary enterprise of the proletariat and the great goal of communism. We certainly must make a success of the proletarian educational enterprise, and discover, invent and create things and make progress in such work.

CSO: 3530-D

CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CH'I COMMEMORATES TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF  
BANDUNG CONFERENCE

Following is a translation of an article by  
Liu Shao-ch'i in the Chinese-language periodical  
Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, page 1.7

Warmest congratulations on the tenth anniversary of the Bandung conference!

Warmest congratulations for the glorious victories achieved by the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism!

Congratualtions to the Afro-Asian peoples who have shown rich revolutionary heroism, consciousness, and militant spirit!

Peoples of Africa and Asia, unite, raise even higher the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolutionary banner, develop the Bandung spirit, be steadfast in struggle, eliminate completely all the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces in Africa and Asia!

Peoples of Africa and Asia, strengthen cooperation, mutually support each other, and mutually strive to achieve and consolidate national independence, to maintain national sovereignty, and to develop national economies and cultures!

I wish even greater success for the Second Afro-Asian Conference about to be held in Algiers!

Long live the Bandung spirit!

Long live Afro-Asian solidarity!

Liu Shao-ch'i  
5 April 1965

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CSO: 3530-D

POEMS AND CARTOONS ON AID-VIETNAM, OPPOSE-U.S. STRUGGLE

Following is a translation of various poems in  
the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag),  
Peiping, No. 4, 30 April 1965, pages 48-57.

Ode to the South -- by Yuan Shui-p'ai (5913 3055 2143)

Tanks, bayonets, hose nozzles,  
Demons and devils were everywhere blocking the intersection.  
The demonstrating masses were surrounded,  
And the U.S. bandits and puppet troops were about to commence  
their evil deeds.

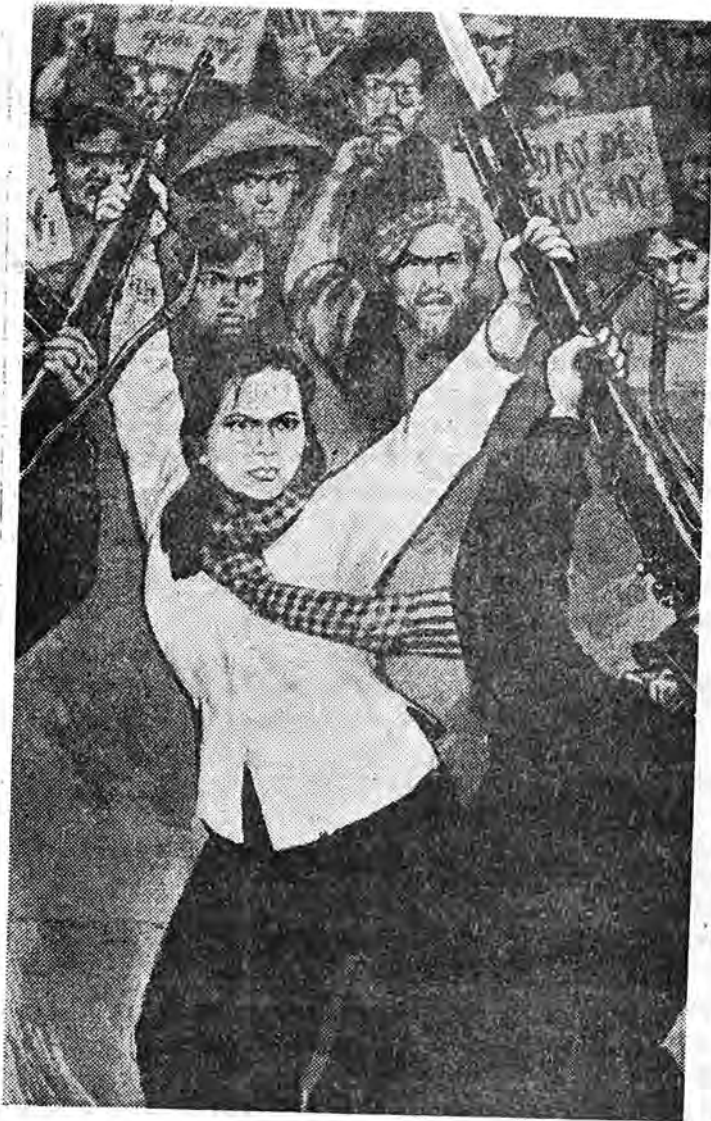
Suddenly, a young woman leaps out of the ranks;  
She resembles a red banner  
Planted in the enemy camp,  
Waving in the smoke of battle.

With a lightning cry of "stop",  
She snatches enemy rifles in both her hands.  
Her eyes flashing with rage,  
She dares to throw herself into the breach.

Mosquitoes buzz about, owls are frightened,  
Swallows spread their wings and soar through the cloud layers.  
Mountains collapse, an iron arm is the support.  
The Heavens crumble, the hero steps in.

Waves cover the Heavens, making a sea 10,000 feet deep.  
Behind one person -- 14 million heroes!  
The Vietnamese people will never bow down,  
U.S. imperialism will be annihilated! The running dogs will be  
beaten.





Announcing Victories to the North -- by Yuan Ying (5913 7751)

The rifle leans on my shoulder,  
The letter is spread out on my knees.  
I write, I think.  
I would like to toss a thousand words into the air,  
And let the wind carry them to distant places.

I don't write of the ten years of separation,  
Nor of the feelings of sons and daughters.  
The martial airs of war fill up my thoughts.  
First of all I announce the glad tidings:  
We have again fought a successful battle!

The wooden boat is a war trench,  
The meandering creeks are the front.  
We fear not the tigers or leopards,  
Nor the jackals or wolves.  
The sons and daughters of the south stride along  
Towards the battle field of liberation.

My native home is stronger day by day,  
The ranks grow sturdier day by day.  
A long tassel is in our hands,  
Victory is in sight.  
Through the dense dark clouds  
Shines an endless rosy glow.

The sounds of oars accompany the sounds of rifles,  
Our hearts are aroused and excited:  
The waters of the Red River roll on,  
The Nine Dragons River leaps and splashes to the Heavens,  
Sharp blades cannot split asunder the river waters,  
For twisting and turning they race towards the sea.

This letter I send to my loved ones,  
My heart flies away to the north.  
In the south and the north, there is just one intention --  
To hammer away fiercely at the American wolves.  
May we again meet in the songs of triumphant,  
And together laugh at the finish of the paper tiger!



Smashing the "Strategic Hamlets" -- by T'ien Ma (1131 7456)

Go ahead with your lying and deception,  
Go ahead with your evil and your cruelty,  
You have sown the seeds of hatred, Yankees,  
And you can only reap the bullets of hatred.

How can this deep moat block people?  
How can this barbed wire keep heroes out?  
The flames of anti-American hatred rage fiercely,  
And will sweep them away into oblivion!

No matter whether young or old,  
Whether male or female,  
Holding aloft the torch of liberation,  
They guard their native soil with knife and gun.

The enemy's "strategic hamlets"  
Are changed into battle sites.  
With an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,  
The score of hatred is repaid!

Contrary to the wishes of the Yankees,  
Events head in the opposite direction:  
The "pits of destruction" they have dug for themselves,  
And their own feet are slipping away into them.

Picking up a stone only to drop it on themselves,  
Their "strategic hamlet" plans have fallen through.  
The Yankees are disconcerted by each other,  
And what will your next move be?



The Second Gunner -- by Li Chi (2621 1323)

As firm as solid rock,  
As indestructable as diamond,  
He stands as steadfast as a high mountain,  
With flames of rage filling his breast.  
His hands clasp the butt of the fire-spitting machine-gun.  
The hatred and rage of 30 million people are borne on his shoulders.

I ask a comrade:  
Can two shoulders bear such a heavy burden?  
The hopes of the entire globe, of the peoples of the world!

The second machine-gunner --  
A little girl, eight years old.

The little girl was carrying her books on her way to school,  
Singing and leaping along the street.

A jet-plane dove down  
And opened fire on this child.

The little girl stuck out her chest and tightly clenched her fists,  
While her eyes blazed with the flames of hatred.

The awe-inspiring Yankees  
Failed to frighten this little heroine.  
A heroic uncle pulled her into a trench for safety,  
And she passed him ammunition so he could fire at the enemy.

The second gunner is the second generation of gunners,  
And the new generation is growing up in the trenches.

The Vietnamese people are earth-shaking heroes,  
Thirty million people are fighting the Americans to save their  
native land.

If it can't be done in one generation, the second one will carry on,  
Right until the last American soldier is driven out!



Standing at Our Outposts -- by Soldier Wu Sheng-yen (0702 4141 1484)

Standing at our outposts,  
Look, look around you:  
The mountains of Vietnam, the waters of Vietnam,  
Acrid vapors are rising over Vietnamese soil.  
From the cities to the countryside,  
Many Vietnamese people are being destroyed by U.S. imperialism,  
And burned in the flames.  
The Vietnamese people cannot tolerate this,  
And they severely punish the death-dealing bandits!  
Bullets are fired from their rifles,  
And engulfing flames of hate burn in the heart.

Standing at our outposts,  
Look, look around you:  
Ah, the Red River,  
Billowing high with angry waves of anti-American hatred;  
The tall mountains,  
Resembling a blade of steel piercing the heart of the aggressors.  
Our 30 million heroes did not bow down before the enemy.  
Charge and kill!  
The north and south resound with the cries of battle,  
Not on one single inch of the motherland's soil  
Will we permit a single American soldier!

Standing at our outposts,  
Look, look around you:  
Heroic fighters hold aloft their long weapons,  
The angry cannon zeroing in on the "flying bandits;"  
They create a net of fire in the sky,  
And savagely, accurately hammer at the U.S. bandits.  
The waters of the four seas surge and boil,  
Hailing the victories of the Vietnamese people;  
Our comrades-in-arms on the five continents wave their arms and shout:  
"U.S. imperialism get out of Vietnam!"  
Cries of rage and hatred echo to the high Heavens.

China is the steadfast reinforcement for Vietnam,  
There is a single path which revolution and anti-imperialism follow.  
Hanoi -- the good comrade-in-arms of Peking,  
Peking -- Hanoi's close brother;  
The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples  
Will forever stand at the foremost outposts of anti-imperialism.

(Originally printed in the Liao-ning Jih-pao, 12 April 1965.)





Bombs in the Mud -- by I sha (2496 5446)

In the U.S. buildings in Saigon,  
Everyone upstairs in afraid;  
Standing, their legs are like jelly,  
Sitting, their hands tremble.

Whose turn will it be next?  
Their eyes glance all about them,  
It is safe nowhere;  
Fire-balls are everywhere.

2.

The U.S. Information Agency  
Stands on a major street corner,  
The target is very striking;  
And it is already filled with evil deeds.

In the puppet police headquarters  
Intelligence has been received  
That someone has sent a bomb  
To blow up that building.

3.

The puppet police hurriedly muster their forces,  
The entire city is searched.  
And the U.S. gendarmes  
Are not willing to lag behind.

Vehicles are inspected,  
Passers-by are deprived of freedom;  
Not one vehicle is let go,  
Not one person slips through.

4.

The situation is well in hand,  
A few persons are thrown into prison,  
And 100 chin of explosives  
Were found loaded in vehicles.

They quickly open it to take a look,  
And concrete pours out;  
The explosives have turned into concrete,  
And the bandits have seized petty thieves! (Note)

5.

The military police stir uneasily,  
The puppet police shake their heads;  
Soldiers are everywhere in the grass and trees,  
Getting confused and bewildered.

Johnson's statement  
Again covers the "embassy;"  
Concrete has turned into explosives,  
How do we know that it can't?

Note: A reporter of the Japanese Mutual News Agency said: "The two vehicles which were secretly shipping 100 kilograms of materials" -- which were seized by Saigon's puppet police -- "did not carry explosives, but only concrete." This was being secretly smuggled out of the "State-operated Cement Factory" to be sold on the authority of the puppet government. (Originally printed in the Chieh-fang Chun-pao (The Liberation Army Daily), 15 April 1965.)



Isn't It Safe Anywhere? -- by Hsiao Ting (5618 0002)

The "Special Warfare" cannot be won,  
Its resources have been exhausted.  
Death-deserving Taylor, stubborn Johnson,  
They beat their heads on a stone wall, alone;  
They try to force their way into our camp.  
They are a little bit anxious,  
A little bit anxious.

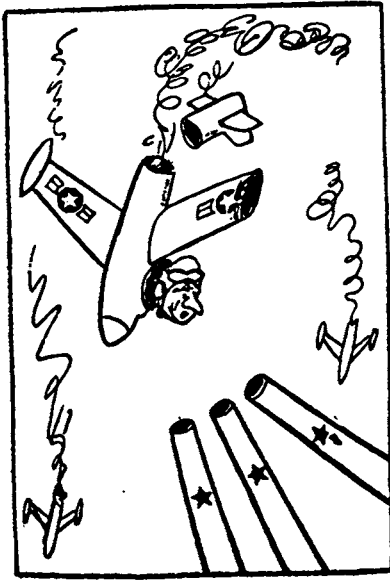
Travelling on the road, they are cautious, trembling with fear,  
Their legs "tremble in unison".  
They look to the east, they look to the west,  
There isn't the faintest trace of a person.  
What happiness, what joy.  
Relaxing and rejoicing,  
They return to camp "victorious".  
Thanks be to all-merciful God,  
Thanks be to all-merciful God.

Suddenly they hear rifle fire behind them,  
There's an ambush awaiting them.  
T'ang-mai-ssu meets his Maker,  
Ai-te-hua become a ghost.  
How fortunate for my pair of long legs,  
They can run in pursuit of the moon or the clouds.  
The sounds of the wind and the rain  
Seem to be a death-warrant.  
Peering into the forests and the bamboo groves,  
The liberation army could be anywhere.

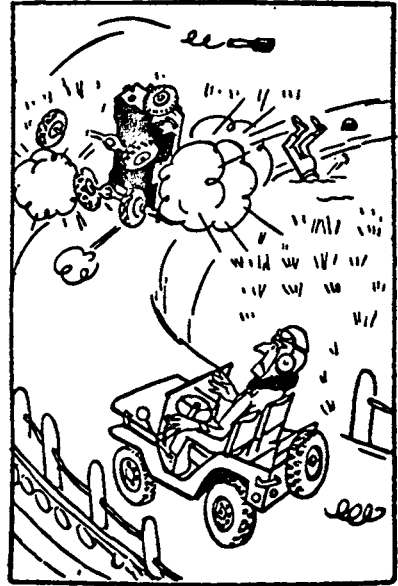
I've saved my skin,  
Escaped from danger.  
And am now running back to the camp.  
Steadily, I no longer fear pursuing troops.  
Relaxing a bit, easing the tension,  
Having a smoke, settling my nerves,  
I pretend to be a lion-hearted hero, bearing good news.  
What's that? Oh no, Oh no,  
The querrillas have come!  
Help!  
Help ... help ...

(Originally printed in the Chieh-fang Chun-pao (Liberation Army Daily),  
19 March 1965.)

ATTACKED FROM ALL SIDES



Knocked out of the skies.



Ambushed on the open road.



Blown up on the ground.



Bombed out of their barracks.

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